"The last stanza or section of the long religious invocation said to have been sung by the god TIIItr, when he took possession of the body of his native oracle Gargeligar, predicts an American victory over Japan. Both Gargeligar himself, who was the mouthpiece of the god, and Tom--ordinarily inclined to make light of Gargeligar's pretensions--assured me that this prophecy was uttered long before American planes reached that part of the Pacific. I wondered if the name of the victors might have been changed in the process, and even asked about it; but of course it was consistently denied. This part of the song, as worked up from Tom's translation, follows:

The war will soon be over.
The end of the fighting is near.
Soon the Americans will come.
All you women and children who offered me flowers,
Fear no more!

A passage so similar as to seem referable to the same revelation appears in a prayer or invocation to cure illness of the head, which was given by Gargeligar to Spiro. Gargeligar said it was given to him [168] by the god TIIItr, who in turn got it from his grandfather, omniscient Aluelap. Tom's translation, as edited by Spiro, follows:

Japan will succumb to America.
I will aid the god of America, I will end the war,
The war of men in combat.

For the Caroline people fear the war,
Greatly fear the war.
The girls and boys who make flowers for the gods
Fear the war.

Two other, less important mentions of America occur in the texts of love-songs. In one, the infatuated woman sings 'I am caught fast, as with an American fish-hook.' I asked Tom about the age of this song. He said it was written long ago, but that the people knew of the excellence of American fish-hooks even then. Since the trader Keefe called himself American, this may be true.

The other mention was in a song written about the chief Maroligar, during his youth, by the woman who is now his wife. The lines were:

Fe la gili ameriki
Naro pia fili ma jem(u.

Tom translated it: 'You are like an American flag in my heart.' This time, particularly, I suspected that Maroligar might have changed 'Japanese' to 'American' in dictating the song; in baseball talk, might have pitched Tom a fast one, too hot for him to handle. For Tom, in translating, seemed a bit confused; and in his first muttering, said something about 'Spanish man', which was his way of saying 'Japanese'. (He had the two peoples distinct in his mind, but confused the English words for them.) I attempted to corner him with questions; but, even if my suspicions were right, he and

Maroligar were on their guard now. However that may be, I could not shake their story. Because of the importance of kindly talk, I did not think it worth while to press the matter. After all, even if the name was changed, that very fact shows that they are anxious to please."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 784, 787 Ifalik

"Performance of certain religious rites--invocation of a god, the more formal and solemn kinds of divination--imposes a three-day taboo on the man who takes a leading part in them, though not upon others who take less prominent part as spectators and assistants. The activities prohibited during this period are sexual intercourse, giving food to others, or receiving food from them."

"Several ways of foretelling the future, particularly by means of strips of coconut leaf, are rather generally known. Yet some know more about them than others. In these Maroligar was a specialist, and had been from his youth: for two love-songs composed in his honor mention this skill of his. The list of excerpts from the journal notes that on several successive mornings in November he was seen to go out, soon after sunrise, on one of the stone piers that projected into the lagoon from Katelu. [191]

Another man, a fellow-clansman, accompanied him. They sat facing the water, the other man a little to the rear and to one side of Maroligar. Maroligar tore little strips of leaflet, about a quarter of an inch wide, from a coconut leaf he brought with him. These he manipulated, one by one, for a long time, then stared solemnly out to sea. Asked what he had been doing, Maroligar explained in his rudimentary English, 'Suppose some man, woman, boy, sick. Man come. I make.' He explained that he talked to the strips of leaf; then looked at them, to find what ailed the patient; and so determined what should be done for a cure. Of the strips of leaflet he said 'All men savvy make. No all men savvy talk, look.' The words then, were in a particular form, evidently a prayer or incantation. The whole procedure was an attempt at diagnosis of desease and prescription for it. Maroligar volunteered his opinion that its efficacy was limited: 'Me think, small no-good; small good.'

More specific explanations of two kinds of divination with strips of coconut leaf were obtained from Tom. One, called bwei, is a specialty of sea-captains, hence within Tom's

special sphere of knowledge. He tore off three strips of leaflet and tied a series of simple knots in each. Then he laid them in the spaces between his fingers. The knots, he said, are counted off in a series of fours. The number of the last knot determines the answer to the question in mind. Each of the numbers - 1, 2, 3, and 4 - has a special meaning. These meanings are known only to a few, Tom said, and did not tell me what they are. This kind of divination may be used to determine what evil spirit is inflicting disease. It has to be worked separately for each alus until the one responsible is found.

Another method is called trip or tribwe. (The first pronunciation seems to be the common one in ordinary speech. It may be a contraction of the second, which was recorded in a song text.) Tom said he did not know all the rules of interpretation, but showed no reluctance in imparting what he did know. This attitude, contrasted with his reticence about the form he was supposed to know, suggests a belief that imparting the true lore to an outsider may impair its effect, while there can be no harm in passing along mere hearsay. To make a trip, the four fingers of the left hand are extended, close together, and a strip of leaflet, without knots in it, is wound around them. The answer to the question in mind depends on what part of the hand is reached by the end of the strip. If it comes to the second finger, on the inside of the hand, the augury is good. If it comes to the second finger on the outside of the hand, the augury is very bad. If it reaches the little finger - whether inside or outside was not specified - the omen is favorable.

This divination will reveal whether someone far away is alive and well. A song celebrating the homecoming of a seafarer says: 'The coconut leaf told me you were well.' It may also be used to find out whether love is requited. One of the songs about Maroligar describes this:

He sits under a tree nearby
And splits off a strip of leaf.
I must go see how it turns out!
Out there in the sunshine,
Taking another strip, he sees that he will win me;
The charm has told him so.
We were both very happy;
We looked in each other's eyes
And shyness overcame us.

When I told Maroligar about the plucking of daisy petals in our culture, and how they say 'He loves me - he loves me not', he was much pleased at the similarity of custom."

1: Burrows--192 (1947-48) Woleaians "2
116, 787, 753 Ifalik

"....other forms of divination may be used to diagnose disease. The most elaborate form we saw, which seemed to involve both diagnosis and treatment, was a ceremony conducted by Gargeligar for the chief Paliuilimar, who was failing rapidly. Gargeligar had already tried other treatments, including the singing of incantations.

Early in the morning of January 12, abouty [sic] forty-five people gathered on the platform about Paliuilimar's house. When we arrived, Gargeligar was smoking inside the house. Outside, near the eaves, two green coconuts with a stem connecting them were lying on the coral gravel. A sort of wooden dagger was laid against the stem.

Gargeligar took position at the outer edge of the platform. The two nuts were placed in the middle of a space between him and the house.

The aged patient, looking very sick, crawled out of the house and sat on a mat under the eaves, facing Gargeligar. Gargeligar stood up solemnly, took the dagger and one of the nuts, and opened the nut by first scoring the husk with the dagger, then plunging its point into the nut. He poured the water from the nut over Paliuilimar's head, then threw the nut over his right shoulder. He did the same with the other nut. Then, taking a bit of coconut leaflet midrib, he pushed back the hair from Paliuilimar's forehead, as if with a brush. As he did this, his lips were moving. Presumably he was reciting an incantation. Then he tossed the bit of midrib up on the thatch of the house. Paliuilimar crawled back into the house.

Gargeligar and two of his kinsmen, whom he was instructing in the healing art, then

carefully examined the cracks he had made in the husks of the two coconuts. He sent the two into the woods to get leaves of aro'. While they were gone, he asked for a piece of turmeric paint, which was handed him from inside the house. With this he painted the incision in one of the nuts. Tom murmured to us 'Very bad that nut.'

When his apprentices brought the aro leaves, Gargeligar laid them over the painted incision in the nut as if he were healing it. Tom said to us 'He very happy.'

Gargeligar brought the ceremony to an end by announcing that the disease was inflicted by an evil spirit from Bwënnau. As this was Paliuilimar's ancestral homestead, the spirit was presumably the ghost of an ancestor of his. Yet Gargeligar added that the spirit was also (Tom's translation) 'a little bit sea-god.' As sea-gods are particularly dreaded, this statement was ominous. Far from considering his cure infallible, Gargeligar told Spiro about this time that unless some great change took place, the old chief would die. This prediction proved correct. Paliuilimar died on February 1."

1: Burrows--193-194 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 759, 787 Ifalik

"As a prominent healer, Gargeligar was called tautavē or master of medicine. Skill in the healing art is even more a matter of degree than specialization in other matters connected with religion. Indeed, not all healing was religious. Some herbal remedies, like those listed in the chapter on technology, seem to be common knowledge. Others are hereditary, apparently within the lineage. Massage, with a kneading or pinching motion, was practised by various experts, among them Maroligar. Maroligar, [194] indeed, as leading diviner, was probably second to Gargeligar in the healing art. As noted in the excerpt from the journal for December 26, he and Gargeligar both invoked the great gods while the woman Nobwórs was on her death-bed. I did not hear the term tautavē applied to him - as a chief he had no need of lesser titles - but am confident he would qualify for it. Indeed, this seems not to be as formal a title as tamól (chief) or palū (navigator), which are applied exclusively to a few individuals who have been awarded it by 'due process.' As far as I could make out it seems rather elastic, like the title of master-carpenter on houses. At any rate, Gargeligar claimed pre-eminence among healers on the ground that he alone received diagnoses and prescriptions for treatment direct from TIIItr. He would invoke the god, then follow instructions--a different process from divine possession, for then he was supposed to remember nothing of what the god said."

"Both kinds of alus live identical lives in the sky, the only difference being that the alusengau have 'very bad stomach', that is, they are evil." Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, is constantly beautiful. Pungulon, on the other hand, the abode of the alusengau fluctuates between extreme beauty and extreme ugliness, but when it is beautiful, it is even more beautiful than Langalian. [WPM: p. 52 is missing from original text.] [53]

Though the alusisalup live in the sky, some of them descend to earth, appear to a person, and possess him. These alus do not possess any one indiscriminately, but possess only persons in their own matrilineal lineage. Thus, the alus is inherited matrilineally, so that a man and his son have different alus. Each lineage house has some alus --Arogeligar said, three or four--that are its special alus, and they function as parental protectors and mentors of the lineage. The alus may possess any person in the lineage, but particularly the walialus (literally, the canoe of alus), of which there is one in every lineage. The walialus is recognised by his frequency of possession. The alus 'come on top' the possessed person, and the latter, then, is conceived of as a canoe which the alus rides.

The alus possesses the walialus for several reasons. He may be lonesome for his mortal kin, or he may wish to admonish them to be good, and to shun evil. The lineage knows the names of its alus, as the latter tell their names to the walialus. These names

are different from their earthly names, since they are given new names by Aluelap, when they ascend to the sky. Whether the possessee recognises the exact kinship relationship of the alus is not clear. Some say that the alus informs the possessee of his name, but not of his relationship. Others, including Arogeligar, say that he reveals his exact relationship. In the pidgin English of Tom, the alus descends on a person, and asks: 'you savvy me?'. If the person does not recognise him, the alus says, 'I your father', or whatever the relationship may be. He then tells him, 'No do bad, no talk bad (against) alus and people. You make good. By'm by you have sick, I give you medicine.'

This last phrase, 'I give you medicine' is the most important function of the alus. As we shall see the alusengau cause disease, and it is the alusisalup that provide the medicine to cure the victim. The exact nature of healing will be examined later, but here it must be stressed that aside from acting as the benevolent patron of the lineage, the sole function of the alusisalup is to cure the ill."

28: Spiro--53
116, 787, 276

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"Possession is called alusemar bwuter, literally, the benevolent alus has arrived. It is marked by a kind of convulsive seizure, called zagogo or chato alus, in which there seems to be a high degree of dissociation, which may last for quite a long time.

Possession can occur in both men and women. It is a relatively infrequent phenomenon, however, and occurs only at night. In our seven month stay on Ifaluk, there were only several possessions. Almost invariably, the person possessed, some other member of his household, or perhaps Arogeligar announces the possession by blowing shrill blasts on a whistle (obtained from the Japanese and Americans). At the sound of the whistle, other people may assemble in the courtyard of the one possessed. At other times, the possession may become infectuous so that others become possessed, in a minor sense. The become 'happy' and the entire group joins in the singing of a chapeng, a religious song, or hymn, and then the young men may walk through the village singing.

I do not mean to examine the causes of possession at this time, but merely wish to point to two relevant factors, cultural and physiological. The few possessions that we witnessed followed imeediately upon a major religious ceremony, their occurence at that time being, therefore no 'accident'. In other words, the influence of the ceremony, at which the alus are evoked, acted as a strong stimulant, in which suggestion played a major role. Secondly, possession occurs only at night, after the people have consumed

large quantities of toddy. The toddy, particularly the fermented kind, is a strong stimulant, and induces a state of mind corresponding to what we call being 'high'. The persons possessed were all 'high', and very obviously under the influence of the toddy, as we shall see in a moment."

28: Spiro--54-55
116, 156, 787, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"In contrast to the general infrequency of possession is the frequency with which Arogeligar is possessed. Unfortunately I did not record the number of times he was possessed, but hardly a week passed without his being possessed at least once. And invariably he would blow blasts on his whistle and walk through the village hoping to induce others to follow him. Often these possessions occured late at night after most people were asleep. Unlike the others, who are possessed by the alusisalup, Arogeligar is possessed by an Alusiang, the Ifaluk patron diety, Tilitr. This possession is known as 'abwuter aluseuelaush', our father has come.'

We may now look at two cases of possession that I witnessed. The first happened two nights after a two day ceremony. We were sitting in our tenst when we heard singing and the shrill blows of a whistle, and I went out to see what was happening. The people of the house closest to our tent were seated in the courtyard, singing what was obviously a chapeng, but this in itself did not mean a possession since the singing of chapengs in the evening is not at all unusual. I was then attracted by a much louder singing proceeding from another house much further from our tent. When I arrived, I noticed that there were about 20 people seated in front of the house, singing a chapeng, and that a few showed minor degrees of possession, by euphoric smiles on their faces, the quality of the singing, and the movement of their arms and bodies. Arogeligar was leading the

singing, and was obviously 'high.' Normally he would greet me with a smile, and with the native greeting of mauwas. That night, however, and indeed on all nights that he was possessed or high--and usually it was both--he would greet me with one of the few English phrases he had picked up--'good morning'--in a shrill voice, accompanied by a sharp jerk of his arm in my direction. By this time Dr. Burrows had arrived, as well, and he offered us both a wreath. It was evident that he had been possessed before we had arrived, and had come out of the possession, but was still influenced by it, and this impression was later confirmed when our boy, Talimera, informed me that the alus had come to Arogeligar. After about half an hour of singing, he announced that he was going to the home of Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, and invited us to accompany him. The women remained behind, and he was accompanied by the young men, all singing as they walked up the path, whilst he was blowing his whistle. Talimera had just been possessed, too, as he informed me the next day. At Paluelimar's there was more singing, and at Arogeligar's request, Paluelimar placed tobacco on the shrine in his courtyard. After about twenty minutes, the entire group left Paluelimar to go to Tom's house. Arogeligar asked Tom to tell us that he and the boys were going to continue their walking through the woods, and that it would be better if we returned, which, of course, we did. I heard singing and whistling until late into the night, when I finally fell asleep.

The next day, Talimera informed me that a woman had been bathing in the channel

between Felarik and Falalap in the early evening, and an alusengau had frightened her by throwing stones at her, and by rustling the water. Just about the same time Arogeligar was possessed, and he frightened the alusengau, so that it had separated.

On the evening of Octoger fifth, I was scoring the day's Rorschach records when I heard chapeng singing coming from a near-by house. I went to investigate, followed later by Dr. Burrows. Arogeligar was just leaving the courtyard of the house, as we approached. This time he recited his 'good morning' again, but instead of jerking his arm as a form of greeting, he seized the hand of Dr. Burrows and kissed it.

As we came to the house, we saw the members of the family seated, singing a chapeng, but we could not make out their movements, since it was a coal-black night there being no moon. We sat down, and the husband of one of the women of the house brought us a mat, and also a small fire, and explained that the alus had arrived.

With the aid of the light, we could now make out the two women, Levagoman and [55] Tavelear who were seated in front of the doorway, and the other members of the household who were seated in the courtyard. The former was was a widow, in her late thirties, and the latter, her 'sister', a very beautiful woman in her early thirties, whose husband whom she had not seen for a year, had just returned from Woleae the previous day. Tavelear was obviously possessed. She was singing the chapeng in a tremulous

voice, with a pronounced trebel, clapping her thighs to the rhythm of the music, and intermittently breaking into laughter and hysterical giggles. Her voice was quite hoarse, and at times was scarcely audible, so that she would sing in a falsetto. Throughout she was gay and 'happy', in a strange way. There is little doubt but that her behavior was hysterical. I had known her very well, having spent much time in her house observing her baby, and it was difficult for me to realize that this was Taveliar. Normally she is quiet, taciturn, not given to exaggerated movements of any kind. The contrast was glaring. This hysterical seizure lasted about fifteen minutes, after which, she passed out of it, singing along with the rest, but in her normal voice, and patently exhausted. (13)"

"13. [See following sheet for footnote 13.]"

"13. [Footnote 13, p. 55] It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for her posession. Her husband had just returned the day before from Woleae, where he had been living quite a long time. She had a suckling baby that could not yet walk, and intercourse is prohibited until the baby can walk. Now Tavelear has the reputation of being a sensuous woman, and Tom often remarked how difficult it had been to satisfy her sexually when he had had an affair with her. Now her husband had returned, she had been with him for two days, and could not yet have intercourse, which for her constituted a severe frustration. Her aroused sexual feelings that could not find a normal expression, were 'converted' or canalized into the hysterical seizure. This, of course, is in agreement with the psychoanalytic interpretation of conversion hysteria in general.

The dance she performed during the seizure lends credence to this interpretation. It was a most sensuous dance--her hips and thighs rolling and swaying to the weaving of her arms, in perfect sensuous rhythm. The atmosphere, Dr. Burrows and I agreed, seemed laden with sex."

28: Spiro--64-65
116, 755, 771, 787, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"This association of religion and medicine is found not only in the healing of individuals but also in the group or public ceremonies and rituals. The public ceremonies are all medicine ceremonies, in which medicine is made and consumed immediately as a prophylactic against future illness, and in which the alusemar are invoked to protect the people from illness. Though other Alus are involved, it is Tilitr that plays the important role in these ceremonies. Tilitr is difficult to conceptualize in terms of our two categories of alusemar, for he is really intermediate in rank between them, being neither in the pantheon, nor having ever been mortal. He lives in Fatuma, with the royal family of alus, but descends to Ifaluk frequently, particularly at the public ceremonies when he is invoked, and then returns to Aluelap to report to him. Tilitr, as has already

been indicated, is the patron saint of Ifaluk, protecting them from evil and from illness. (27)" [65]

"27. Tilitr predicted an American victory in the war. The natives, of course, knew of the war because of the airplanes which flew over-head, because the Japanese had told them of the war, and because Ifaluk young men had been on Yap during the American bombardment of the island. During the war Tilitr had told Arogeligar that the Americans would win, and that he (Tilitr) would assist them. He also had told him that the Americans were a fine people, that they had 'very fine head, very fine stomach,' and that the Ifaluk head and stomach were small, by comparison."

28: Spiro--75 [2]
116, 787, 821, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"We have already described in detail the rituals employed in healing. But divination is also used in healing, as well as in predicting the weather. Divination, called trip or bweng, is practiced by means of coconut strips, the configuration of the knots being interpreted as a predictive mechanism. (31)"

"31. [See following sheet for footnote 31.]"

28: Spiro--75 [2]
116, 787, 821, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

"31. [Footnote pp. 75-76] One afternoon I saw Maroliger divining for a sick woman. I asked Tom what he was doing, and he replied that this was 'Katt', that is, he was playing cards. I didn't press the issue any further, assuming that Tom was reluctant to speak about the matter, and making a note to ask him about it at a later time. It was entirely accidental that I later learned what he had meant. In the latter part of November we had a few days of heavy wind, that the natives called a minor typhoon. Trees were blown down, the waves were coming on shore. Since there was little I could do, I spent a part of one afternoon playing 'solitaire.' While playing, Tom came to see how we were weathering the storm, and found me playing cards. Now previously Maroligar had seen Dr. Burrows playing, and after each hand Dr. Burrows would say, 'Good', or 'bad' [76] depending upon whether or not he had won, and Maroligar had interpreted this evaluation to mean that Dr. Burrows was divining for something. When Tom came that day, he told me that the people were very disturbed about the storm, and that he too was worried, and would be unable to sleep that night. But he insisted that I finish my game so that I could tell him whether the storm would continue or would abate. Wishing to put his mind at rest, I told him that the storm would stop. He sighed with relief, and was most happy, because Maroligar's divining by means of the coconut strips had predicted the same thing."